DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 467 052 UD 035 159

AUTHOR	Seiler, Naomi
TITLE	Is Teen Marriage a Solution?
INSTITUTION	Center for Law and Social Policy, Washington, DC.
SPONS AGENCY	Ford Foundation, New York, NY.; George Gund Foundation, Cleveland, OH.; Mott (C.S.) Foundation, Flint, MI.; Public Welfare Foundation, Washington, DC.; Moriah Fund.; Open Society Inst., New York, NY.
PUB DATE	2002-04-00
NOTE	20p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Center for Law and Social Policy, 1616 P Street, N.W., Suite150, Washington, DC 20036. Tel: 202-328-5140; Fax: 202-328-5195; e-mail: info@clasp.org; Web site: http:/ /www.clasp.org.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative (142)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adolescents; Birth Rate; Births to Single Women; *Early Parenthood; *Marriage; *Public Policy; Social Attitudes; Welfare Recipients; *Welfare Reform; Young Adults
IDENTIFIERS	*Early Marriage

ABSTRACT

Many policy proposals related to welfare will have the effect, intended or unintended, of encouraging teens to marry. This paper discusses the implications of teen marriage. Marriage is one route to reducing out-of-wedlock births to teens who become pregnant, but there is reason to believe such marriages are often unstable. A review of the available data leads the Center for Law and Social Policy to suggest that the government should temper enthusiasm for marriage with respect for the complexities of marriage and recognition of how little is known about how to promote marriage without raising additional concerns. An overview of teen marriage shows that much has changed in the last 40 years. Rates of teen marriage today vary by sex and race, but it is true that teens represent a diminishing share of women who give birth outside of marriage. Teen nonmarital fertility rates remain high, however. Data suggest that early marriages are the most unstable, which can jeopardize the marriage's potential for economic good. Teen fathers may have fewer financial resources to contribute. Young mothers who marry are more likely to have a rapid second birth, and teen marriage may lead to decreased educational attainment for girls. It also appears that the high rates of abuse by intimates that young women experience suggest another reason to be cautious in advocating early marriage. For these teens who do marry, policymakers should provide support services to help them build strong relationships. (Contains 7 figures and 59 references.) (SLD)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 467 052

CIASP

CENTER FOR LAW AND SOCIAL POLICY

Is Teen Marriage a Solution?

NAOMI SEILER

APRIL 2002

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

A. Houseman
Center for Law + Social Policy

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

UD 035 159

CIASP

CENTER FOR LAW AND SOCIAL POLICY

Is Teen Marriage a Solution?

NAOMI SEILER

APRIL 2002

Acknowledgments

This project was made possible by grants from the Ford Foundation, the George Gund Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Public Welfare Foundation, the Moriah Fund, an anonymous donor, and the Open Society Institute.

I am grateful to many individuals for their contributions to this paper. Thanks go to those who provided guidance or commented on a draft, including Sara McLanahan, Dick Wertheimer, Deborah Graefe, Daniel Lichter, and Shawn Fremstad. Special appreciation also goes to the CLASP staff members who provided invaluable assistance for this paper: Jodie Levin-Epstein, Christine Grisham, Myra Batchelder, Paula Roberts, Theodora Ooms, Vicki Turetsky, and Rutledge Hutson. The contributions of each of these people significantly added to the quality of this paper. The content of the paper is solely the responsibility of the author.

Copyright © 2002 by the Center for Law and Social Policy

Center for Law and Social Policy
1015 15th Street, NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 906-8000 voice
(202) 842-2885 fax
www.clasp.org

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Part I: An Overview of Teen Marriage 3

Part II: The Potential Effects of Teen Marriage 7

Conclusion 10

Endnotes 11

"...those calling for more marriage are really calling for earlier marriages."

Isabel Sawhill,
Welfare Reform and the Marriage Movement[1]

Introduction

Most Americans are probably not aware that the 1996 legislation that changed America's welfare system also included several provisions related to marriage and family formation. In fact, three of the four purposes of the law encourage states to promote marriage, "the formation and maintenance of two-parent families," and the reduction of out-of-wedlock pregnancies. The law also provides bonuses to states that decrease the proportion of their births that are "out-of-wedlock" and includes federal funds for programs for teens that promote the practice of abstinence-unless-married.[3] And these provisions are not always limited to welfare families.

"Tell a girl who is a teenager planning to marry to wait until her 20s."

Michael Bramlett,
co-author, *First Marriage Dissolution, Divorce, and Remarriage*[2]

The promotion and maintenance of marriage has become a major focus in the debate over reauthorization of the welfare program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), scheduled for fall 2002. In one well-publicized proposal, Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation suggests earmarking 10 percent of all TANF funds for marriage education and other related activities.[4] Targeting teens more directly, he has also proposed a demonstration that provides up to $10,000 to young, "at-risk girls" under age 18 who do not bear children before age 21 and avoid a premarital birth.[5] Charles Murray of the American Enterprise Institute has suggested a one-state experiment in which all means-tested benefits are cut off for unwed mothers under age 18.[6] In addition, federally-funded abstinence-unless-married education, which contends that sex outside of marriage is unhealthy, may have the unintended consequence of encouraging teens to marry before they are ready.

Because many of these policy proposals could have the effect — intended or unintended — of encouraging teens to marry, this paper discusses the potential implications of teen marriage. Should teenage girls who become pregnant be encouraged to marry? What might the effects be on a young woman, on her child, or on the child's father? What do we know about how teen marriage patterns vary with age, race, and other factors? Because policy concerns center on teens who become pregnant, most of the studies cited here focus on marriages related to pregnancy.

Marriage is certainly one (formerly common) route to reduce out-of-wedlock births by those teens who become pregnant; however, there is reason to be concerned that such marriages are often unstable. In contrast, preventing teen pregnancy in the first place carries with it none of these concerns. A focus

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

on teen pregnancy prevention is particularly appropriate in any effort to address out-of-wedlock births because 80 percent of teen births are out-of-wedlock[7] and 50 percent of non-marital *first* births are to teens (and it is these first births that are driving the increase in out-of-wedlock childbearing).[8] Since many teenagers want to avoid unintended pregnancy, it makes sense to help them achieve this personal and public goal.[9] Focusing on the responsibilities of parenting, the potential value of two parents to children, and the virtue in delaying parenting until one is ready could all be part of a strategy to prevent teen pregnancy. And researchers have now defined what works: a relatively new body of rigorous research demonstrates that a variety of teen pregnancy prevention programs can succeed in reducing teen births.[10]

Based on our review of the data, the Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP) believes the government should temper any enthusiasm for marriage with a respect for its complex human nature and a recognition of how little we know about what works to promote marriage; policies that directly or indirectly encourage teen marriage raise additional concerns. While CLASP supports efforts to help couples voluntarily strengthen their relationships and marriages and believes some teen marriages can prove beneficial, it would be unfortunate if the result of government policy were to foster too-early teen marriages.

Some policymakers and others may assume that any teen mother with a baby would be better off married. There is good reason to believe, however, that such a blanket assumption may be wrong. Marriage of the very young mother may merely replace one public concern, "premature parenting," with another: "premature marriage."

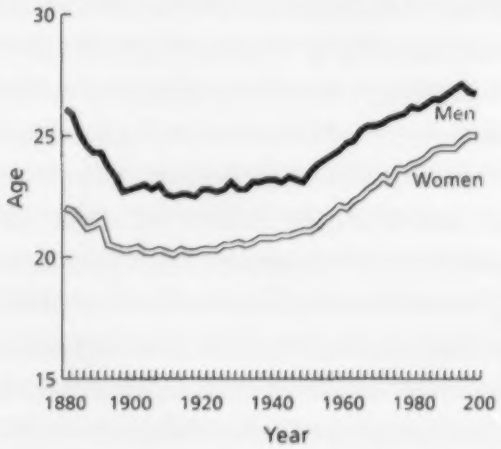
Part I: An Overview of Teen Marriage

The first step in assessing policy proposals that might encourage teen marriage is to review what we know about the past and current trends in marriage among teens and in nonmarital teen fertility. Much has changed in these areas in the last 40 years.

HISTORIC MARRIAGE TRENDS

The "delaying" of first marriage today is actually part of a larger history of falling and rising median ages at first marriage (see Figure 1). Marital age for both men and women has been affected by a complex interaction of historical events, social changes, and educational and professional expectations.[11] Median ages of first marriage today are higher than they were in the 1950s and 1960s, a time when marital ages were unusually low. In 1998, men's median age at first marriage was 26.7, only six months older than it was in 1890. Women's numbers have increased more; their median age at first marriage was 22 in 1890, dipped down to 20.1 in 1956, and by 1998 reached 25.[12]

Figure 1: Median age at first marriage, 1890-1998



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1999[12]

TEEN MARRIAGE TODAY

Rates of teen marriage today vary by sex and race. In March of 1998, approximately 1 percent of all 15- to 17-year-olds had ever been married. Older teens were more likely to have been married; 6.5 percent of white women and 13.4 percent of Hispanic women aged 18-19 had ever been married. In total, approximately 450,000 15- to 19-year-olds had ever been married in March 1998 (see Table 1 on page 4).[13]

Different regions of the country have very different rates of teen marriage. In March of 1998, teens in the South and West were more likely to have been married than those in the Northeast and Midwest, with the gap growing by age 18-19. Only 1.7 percent of 18- to 19-year-olds in the Northeast had ever been married, compared to 6.1 percent in the South (see Table 2 on page 4).[14]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 1: Percent of 15- to 17-year-olds ever married, March 1998

	15- to 17-year-olds	18- to 19-year-olds
White men	0.6	2.7
White women	1.9	6.5
Black men	1.0	3.0
Black women	0.7	2.2
Hispanic men	0.7	4.6
Hispanic women	4.1	13.4
White, non-Hispanic men	0.7	2.3
White, non-Hispanic women	1.4	5.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1998[13]

Table 2: Percent of 15- to 17-year-olds and 18- to 19-year-olds ever married, by region, March 1998

	15- to 17-year-olds	18- to 19-year-olds
Northeast	0.9	1.7
Midwest	0.8	2.8
South	1.6	6.1
West	1.0	5.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1998[14]

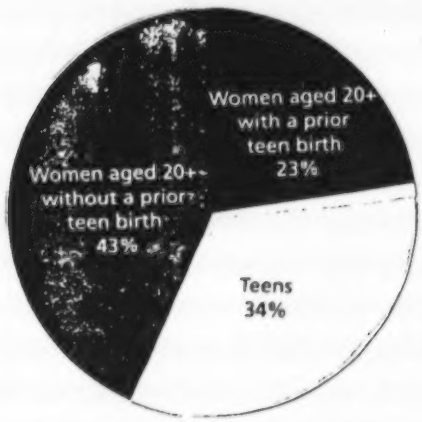
TEEN NONMARITAL FERTILITY

Teens represent a diminishing share of women who give birth outside of marriage... In 1970, one-half of births to unmarried women were among teenagers; in 1999, 29 percent were to teens.[15] The percentage of births to unmarried women of all ages has increased from 4 percent in 1950 to 33 percent in 1999.[16] This is due to an increase in the proportion of unmarried women among those of reproductive age, a decrease in fertility rates of married women, and an increase in fertility rates of unmarried women.[17]

...but teen nonmarital fertility rates remain high. The birth rate for unmarried teens age 15-19 rose from 12.6 per 1000 in 1950 to 46.4 per 1000 in 1994, dropping to 40.4 by 1999.[18] Together, nonmarital births to teenagers and to adult women whose first births occurred as teens account for over one-half of nonmarital births (see Figure 2).[19]

The fathers of babies born to teen girls vary in age, but relationships between teen girls and older partners are associated with a disproportionate number of pregnancies. In 1994, among sexually experienced women under 18,[20] 65 percent of those with partners six or more years older became pregnant, compared to 18 percent of those whose partners were no more than two years older.[21] The same pattern, in which the pregnancy rate is higher the older the partner, held true for all girls under 20 who were married at conception.[22] Further, married women under 20 were more than twice as likely to become pregnant than those not married.[23] In addition, among sexually active[24] girls aged 15-

Figure 2: All nonmarital births, 1992-1995



Source: Child Trends, 2001, based on National Survey of Family Growth data[25]

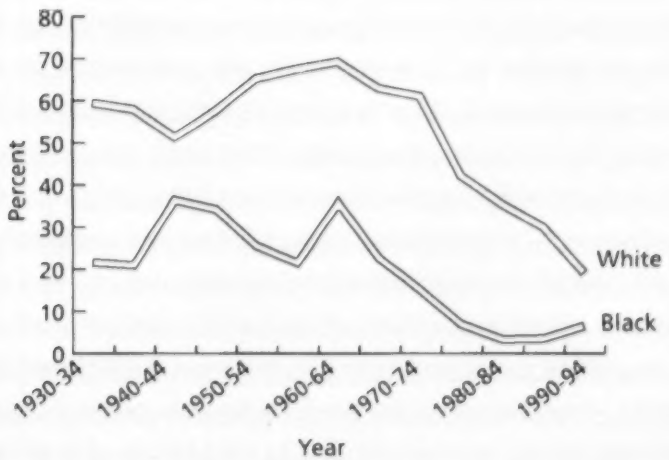
17, men who were six or more years older represented 6.7 percent of partners;[26] however, they caused a disproportionate percent of pregnancies (19.2 percent), unintended births (22.2 percent), and intended births (27.9 percent).[27]

THE ROLE OF "SHOTGUN" MARRIAGES

Steep declines in the proportion of pregnant teens who enter "shotgun" marriages have contributed to the high rates of nonmarital pregnancies among teens (see Figure 3). Though older teens are more likely to marry between the conception and birth of their child than younger teens, rates of "shotgun" marriage have declined greatly for all teens as well as for older women.[28] From the first half of the 1960s to the first half of the 1990s, the marriage rate for pregnant teens fell from 69.4 percent to 19.3 percent for whites, and from 36.0 percent to 6.7 percent for blacks.

Of first births to 15- to 19-year-olds, a higher proportion are conceived premaritally today than 70 years ago. In the early 1930s, less than one-third of first births to teens aged 15-19 were conceived premaritally.[30] By the early 1990s,

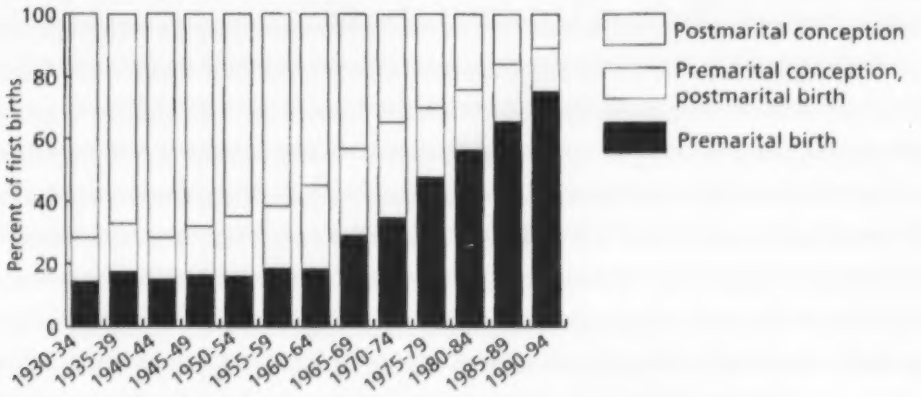
Figure 3: Percent of premaritally pregnant women aged 15-19 marrying before the birth of their first child, 1930-1994



Source: Bachu, 1999, based on U.S. Census Bureau data[29]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Figure 4: Sequencing of marriage and birth for women aged 15 to 19 at first birth, 1930-1994



Source: Bachu, 1999, based on U.S. Census Bureau data[31]

this proportion had risen to over 80 percent (see Figure 4).

The traits of male partners also affect whether a pregnancy leads to marriage before birth (although data specific to teens are not available). Different factors affect the likelihood of black and white males marrying to resolve a nonmarital pregnancy. In one study, among white males, employment led to slightly increased rates of marriage, while for black males, employment status did not affect the rate.[32] However, a smaller study focusing on low-income men showed that employed fathers are twice as likely to marry as unemployed fathers.[33] Before 1980, educational background did not affect the likelihood of white males' marrying between conception and birth, but from 1980-1990 being enrolled in or completing high school was positively associated with the likelihood of marriage for this group.[34] Black males were more likely to marry between conception and birth if they lived in the South, and increased age led to a higher likelihood of marriage for black but not white men.[35] Males who are five or more years older than their partners account for a small portion (8 percent) of all teen births under age eighteen.[36] This age difference would subject the males to statutory rape prosecution in many states, even if the sex were consensual. However, some states have allowed the males to marry their teen partners to avoid prosecution.[37]

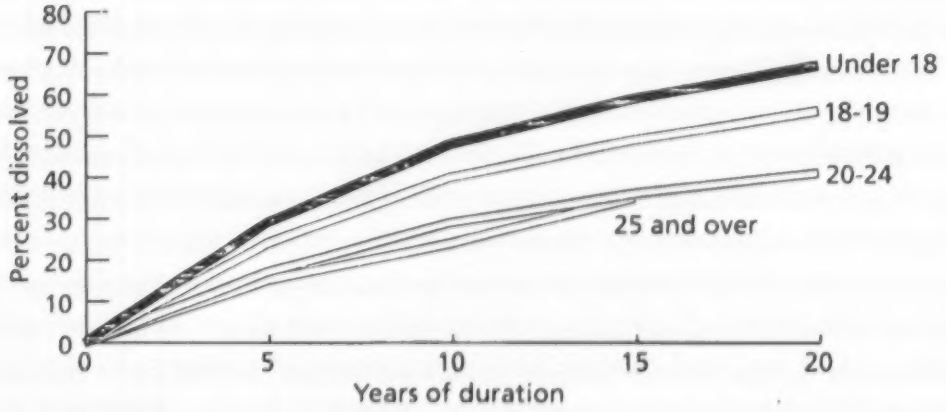
Part II: The Potential Effects of Teen Marriage

What do we know about the long-term stability of teen marriages? How does getting married as a teen affect the economic prospects of the family? What other effects does teen marriage have on the health and well-being of teens? Current research offers some preliminary (and not always consistent) answers to these questions and also suggests areas for which we need to find out more.

MARITAL STABILITY AND OUTLOOK

Early marriages are the most unstable. While divorce and separation rates are high in the U.S. overall, rates are particularly high for teen marriages (see Figure 5). For instance, about one-half of teen marriages (among women aged 18-19) will end in divorce within fifteen years, compared to about one-third of marriages for women over twenty. In 1995, women who had married as teens were far

Figure 5: Probability of first marriage disruption by duration of marriage and wife's age at marriage, 1995



Source: CDC Vital and Health Statistics, 1997, based on National Survey of Family Growth 1995 data[38]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

more likely to have undergone a marital dissolution than those who married even just a few years later. While the effect is particularly dramatic for women who married before age 18, even older teens who marry experience divorce and separation at higher rates than those who wait until they are out of their teens.[39]

Unwed mothers have relatively low future prospects of marriage. While data specific to teen mothers have not been analyzed, women who bear a child without marrying have a 40 percent lower likelihood of ever marrying than those who don't, controlling for age, race, and socioeconomic status.[40] Therefore, teen mothers who do not marry once pregnant may have diminished prospects of ever marrying.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Marrying can improve an unwed mother's economic outlook (although an analysis exclusively on teens is not available). In 1995, previously unwed mothers who were currently married had a poverty rate less than one-third that of their never-married counterparts.[41]

The instability of an early marriage can jeopardize its potential for economic good. For unwed mothers of all ages, marrying and then divorcing correlates with higher risks of poverty than never marrying.[42] While data have not been analyzed separately for teen marriages, teenage girls who have a nonmarital birth and then marry and divorce may also be worse off economically than those who do not marry.[43]

When the fathers of teens' babies are teens themselves, they may have less financial resources to contribute. Teen males who become fathers earn less in early adulthood than males who delay parenting until after age 20.[44] Teen fathers earn more than those who delay fatherhood from age 17-22, but after age 22 their incomes steadily lag behind males who were not teen fathers.[45] This gap may be linked to lower educational attainment among teenage fathers, though it is difficult to separate cause from effect.[46]

Marrying before the birth of a child may lead to greater paternal support, even if the marriage doesn't last. If couples marry, the male partner is likely to be a residential parent and have greater access to the child. Even if the couple eventually divorces, this early contact may lead to greater levels of financial support from the father.[47]

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF YOUNG MOTHERS

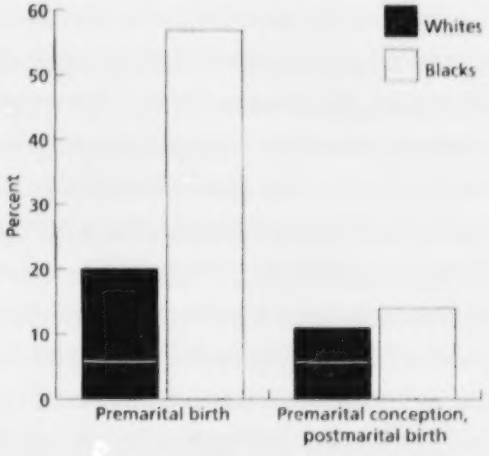
Young mothers who marry are more likely to have a rapid second birth. According to a national longitudinal study, teen mothers are more likely to have a rapid second birth if they marry.[48] Results from a national program for teenage mothers showed a similar correlation between living with a partner or husband and the likelihood of a subsequent pregnancy.[49] Closely-spaced second births are linked to worse economic and educational outcomes for both the young mother and her child.[50]

Teen marriage may lead to decreased educational attainment for girls. If marriage is associated with a higher chance of a closely-spaced second birth[51] and if teen mothers with two or more children face a greater likelihood of lower educational attainment,[52] then early marriage may intensify the educational harms of early childbearing. A study based on the

National Survey of Family Growth and the National Longitudinal Youth Survey revealed trends that support this idea. Girls who married between conception and birth were less likely to return to school than those who didn't marry. Six months after birth, the correlation was seen for both races but was statistically significant only among black teens, who returned to school within six months at a rate of 56.4 percent if unmarried but only at a rate of 14.9 percent if they married between conception and birth.[53] The same correlation was seen in rates of ever returning to school after childbirth, and was statistically significant for both whites and blacks (see Figures 6 and 7).

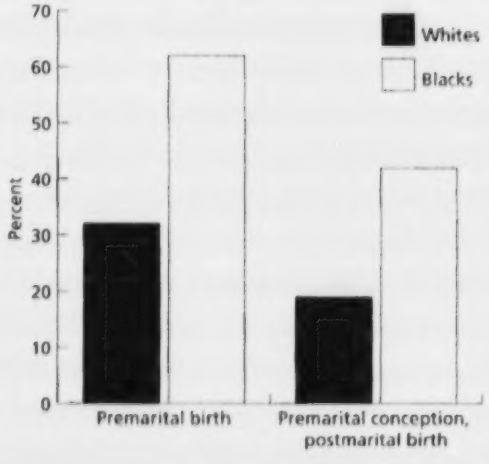
Young relationships often involve high levels of violence. There are no data available on the rates of violence experienced by young women who are married versus those who are not, but any policy or demonstration program encouraging teens to marry should recognize that young relationships often involve relatively high rates of violence. The U.S. Department of Justice reports that women aged 16-24 are the age group experiencing the highest rates of violent victimization by intimates,[54] including murder, rape, sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated and simple assaults.[55] Other research indicates that, for some teen mothers, an antecedent of their sexual activity and teen pregnancy is the experience of abuse in childhood.[56] At the same time, there is anecdotal evidence from older research that some teens marry to escape abusive or otherwise problematic homes.[57]

Figure 6: Teenage mothers' school enrollment rates six months after childbirth by sequencing of marriage and first birth (adjusted percentage)



Source: McLaughlin et al., 1986, based on NSFG data[58]

Figure 7: Teenage mothers who were *ever* enrolled in school after childbirth, by sequencing of marriage and first birth (adjusted percentage)



Source: McLaughlin et al., 1986, based on NSFG data[59]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Conclusion

It is likely that, as with all women, teens experience some current economic benefit from being married. However, there are a number of important reasons to question an assumption that a teen mother who is not inclined to marry would be better off married. Notably, high rates of dissolution of teen marriages may make marriage a riskier bet for teen women's long-term economic security than it is for older women. Since married teens are more likely to have a rapid repeat birth and this can affect school completion, marriage may hamper future economic stability. The high rates of abuse by intimates that young women experience suggest yet another reason to be cautious.

For those teens who do marry, we urge policymakers to provide support services to help them build strong relationships. However, the instability of teen marriage and the risks it can pose should give pause to any policymaker who is eager to encourage pregnant adolescents to walk down the aisle.

Endnotes

1 Isabel Sawhill, *Welfare Reform and the Marriage Movement.* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, September 2001.

2 Michael Bramlett, co-author of *First Marriage Dissolution, Divorce, and Remarriage: United States.* U.S Department of Health and Human Services, Advance Data Number 323, May 31, 2001. Quoted in Karen Peterson, "Study Finds Age Linked to Success," *USA Today,* May 25, 2001.

3 42 USC § 601.

4 Robert Rector, "Using Welfare Reform to Strengthen Marriage," *American Experiment Quarterly, 4*(2), Summer 2001.

5 Robert Rector, Untitled handout at the "House Ways & Means Speaker Series on Welfare Reform," Ways & Means Human Resources Subcommittee, Brookings Institution, and American Enterprise Institute, February 18, 2000.

6 Charles Murray, "Family Formation" in Rebecca Blank and Ron Haskins (eds.), *The New World of Welfare,* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2001.

7 79 percent in 1999. *Facts At A Glance,* Washington, DC: Child Trends, August 2001.

8 Lawrence L. Wu, Larry L. Bumpass, and Kelly Musick, *Historical and Life Course Trajectories of Non-Marital Childbearing* (IRP Abstract Rpt # 829), Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty, 2001.

9 S.K. Henshaw, "Unintended Pregnancy in the United States," *Family Planning Perspectives, 30*(1): 24-29 & 46, Table 1, 1998. Cited in *Facts in Brief: Teen Sex and Pregnancy.* New York: Alan Guttmacher Institute, September 1999. Available online at: http://agi-usa.org/pubs/fb_teen_sex.html#22

10 Douglas Kirby, *Emerging Answers: Research Findings on Programs to Reduce Teen Pregnancy.* Washington, DC: National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, May 2001.

11 For a discussion of some of the factors affecting median age of first marriage, see Christine Bachrach et al., "The Changing Shape of Ties That Bind," in Linda Waite (ed.), *The Ties That Bind: Perspectives on Marriage and Cohabitation.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2000.

12 "Estimated Median Age at First Marriage, by Sex: 1890 to the Present," Table MS-2. U.S. Bureau of the Census, January 7, 1999.

13 "Marital Status and Living Arrangements, March 1998" (Update) (P20-514); Detailed Table 1: "Marital Status of Persons 15 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, Hispanic Origin, Metropolitan Residence, and Region" (Unpublished Tables), U.S. Bureau of the Census.

14 Ibid.

15 Elizabeth Terry-Humen et al., "Births Outside of Marriage: Perceptions vs. Reality," *Child Trends Research Brief,* April 2001.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

16 Population Reference Bureau, "Births to Unmarried Women — End of the Increase?" Ameristat, 2001. Based on data from the National Center for Health Statistics, DHHS. Available online at: http://www.ameristat.org.

17 Ibid.

18 Stephanie J. Ventura, T.J. Matthews, and Brady E. Hamilton. "Births to Teenagers in the United States, 1940-2000." *National Vital Statistics Reports, 49*(10), September 25, 2001.

19 These data come from unpublished calculations by Child Trends, Washington, DC. The data used are from the National Survey of Family Growth based on the years 1992 to 1995. The first births to women with an out-of-wedlock birth may or may not have been out-of-wedlock. Child Trends, 2001.

20 Women who had ever had intercourse.

21 Jacqueline Darroch et al., "Age Differences Between Sexual Partners in the United States." *Family Planning Perspectives, 31*(4), July/August 1999. Data based on NSFG, 1995, and AGI's 1994-1995 Abortion Patient Survey.

22 Ibid. In 1994, the pregnancy rate for women under 20 who were married at conception to men six or more years older was approximately 66 percent. The pregnancy rate for women under 20 who were married at conception to men no more than two years of age older was 38 percent.

23 In 1994, the pregnancy rate for women under age 20 who were married at conception was 45 percent compared to 20 percent for women under 20 who were unmarried at conception. Darroch et al., supra note 22.

24 Had sexual intercourse in the previous three months.

25 These data come from unpublished calculations by Child Trends, Washington, DC. The data used are from the National Survey of Family Growth based on the years 1992 to 1995. The first births to women with an out-of-wedlock birth may or may not have been out-of-wedlock. Child Trends, 2001.

26 Darroch et al., supra note 22.

27 Darroch et al., supra note 22.

28 "Determinants of Adolescent Sexual Behavior and Decision Making," in Cheryl D. Hayes, (ed.), *Risking the Future: Adolescent Sexuality, Pregnancy, and Childbearing.* Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1987.

29 From data in Amara Bachu, "Trends in Premarital Childbearing: 1930 to 1994." *Current Population Reports* (P23-197). Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, October 1999.

30 Bachu, supra note 29.

31 Bachu, supra note 29.

32 Madeline Zavodny, "Do Men's Characteristics Affect Whether a Non-Marital Pregnancy Results in Marriage?" *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61*, August 1999. Data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Men (NLS) and the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). Fathers who married to "legitimate" the pregnancy were defined as those who married and had a child within 7 months of marriage. Men who didn't marry were those who didn't marry for two years. Those who married within two years were not included in the study. Hispanic and Asian men were not included because of small sample sizes.

33 Testa et al., "Employment and Marriage Among Inner-City Fathers." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 501*, 1989.

34 Zavodny, supra note 32.

35 Zavodny, supra note 32.

36 Laura D. Lindberg et al., "Age Differences Between Minors Who Gave Birth and Their Adult Partners." *Family Planning Perspectives, 29*(2), March/April 1997.

37 See, e.g., Rigel Oliveri, *Statutory Rape Law and Enforcement in the Wake of Welfare Reform.* 52 Stan. L. Rev. 463, 2000.

38 Based on data from CDC, Vital and Health Statistics, "Fertility, Family Planning, and Women's Health," *New Data from the 1995 National Survey of Family Growth, 23*(19), May 1997. Data are limited to interviews of women aged 15-44, so twenty-year duration data for women who married at 25 or older are not included.

39 Ibid.

40 Daniel T. Lichter and Deborah Roempke Graefe, "Finding a Mate? The Marital and Cohabitation Histories of Unwed Mothers," in Lawrence Wu and Barbara Wolfe (eds.), *Out of Wedlock: Trends, Causes and Consequences of Non-marital Fertility.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001.

41 Odds ratio of 0.31. Daniel Lichter et al., "Is Marriage a Panacea? Union Formation Among Economically-Disadvantaged Unwed Mothers." Presented at the 2001 Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America. Data from the National Survey of Family Growth, 1995.

42 See Lichter et al., supra note 41.

43 See Lichter et al., supra note 41.

44 Maureen Pirog-Good and David H. Good, *Child Support Enforcement for Teenage Fathers: Problems and Prospects.* University of Wisconsin-Madison, Institute for Research on Poverty, Discussion Paper #1029-94, February 1994. Study based on data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experiences – Youth Cohort (NLSY).

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Thomas Hanson, Irwin Garfinkel, Sara McLanahan, and Cynthia Miller, "Trends in Child Support Outcomes," *Demography, 33*(4), 483, 1996

48 Debra Kalmuss, "Subsequent Childbearing Among Teenage Mothers: The Determinants of a Closely Spaced Second Birth." *Family Planning Perspectives, 26*(4) 149-53, 159, July 1994. Data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

49 Janet Quint, Barbara Fink, and Sharon Rowser, *New Chance: Implementing a Comprehensive Program for Disadvantaged Mothers and Their Children.* New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, December 1991.

50 See Kalmuss, supra note 48.

51 See Kalmuss, supra note 48.

52 Dianne Scott-Jones, "Educational Levels of Adolescent Childbearers at First and Second Births," Table 2, *American Journal of Education, 99*(4), August 1991.

53 Steven D. McLaughlin et al., "The Effects of the Sequencing of Marriage and First Birth During Adolescence." *Family Planning Perspectives, 18*(1), January/February 1986.

54 Intimates include spouses, ex-spouses, common-law spouses, same-sex partners, boyfriends, and girlfriends.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

55 Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Violence by Intimates: Analysis of Data on Crimes by Current or Former Spouses, Boyfriends, and Girlfriends.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, March 1998.

56 Jacqueline Stock, Michelle Bell, Debra K. Boyer, and Frederick A. Connell. "Adolescent Pregnancy and Sexual Risk-Taking Among Sexually Abused Girls." *Family Planning Perspectives 29*(5), September/October 1997; Debra Boyer and David Fine, "Victimization and Other Risk Factors for Child Maltreatment Among School-Age Parents: 1988-1992," *National Data Archive on Child Abuse and Neglect*, December 1997. Available online: http://www.ndacan.cornell.edu/NDACAN/Documentation/67/67user.html.

57 D. Finkelhor, *A Sourcebook on Child Sexual Abuse.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1986.

58 Based on NSFG data from Steven McLaughlin et al., "The Effects of the Sequencing of Marriage and First Birth During Adolescence." *Family Planning Perspectives, 18*(1), January/February 1986. Percentages adjusted for mother's education, father's education, current urban residence, religion, living arrangements at age 14, Hispanic origin, age at first birth, enrollment status at pregnancy, age at interview, and school enrollment level at childbirth (high school senior or more). Data on the eventual marital status of teens who did not marry before their first birth are not available.

59 Based on NLSY data from McLaughlin et al., supra note 58. Effect for both races is statistically significant. Percentages adjusted for mother's education, father's education, urban residence at age 14, religion, living arrangements at age 14, number of siblings, age at first birth, months between childbirth and 1982 interview, school enrollment level at time of childbirth (high school senior or more), and months married between childbirth and the 1982 interview. Data on the eventual marital status of teens who did not marry before their first birth are not available.

CLASP
CENTER FOR LAW AND SOCIAL POLICY
1015 15th Street, NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 906-8000 voice
(202) 842-2885 fax
www.clasp.org

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

NOTICE

Reproduction Basis

[X] This document is covered by a signed "Reproduction Release (Blanket)" form (on file within the ERIC system), encompassing all or classes of documents from its source organization and, therefore, does not require a "Specific Document" Release form.

[ ] This document is Federally-funded, or carries its own permission to reproduce, or is otherwise in the public domain and, therefore, may be reproduced by ERIC without a signed Reproduction Release form (either "Specific Document" or "Blanket").